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every kind of spiritual development, but above all else with respect for law, with love of freedom, and with a consciousness of themselves—a people that will not barter away their freedom.

Norway is, more than other lands, a democratic community. Democracy underlies our constitution and characterizes all our institutions. Democracy demands peace. That is the specific reason why the Norwegian Storting, earlier than any other national assembly, expressed its approval of your peace propaganda, and has stood by it until this day, and why the government has repeatedly given the cause its sanction.

In recognition of this, the noble Swedish friend of peace, Alfred Nobel, who recently deceased, and who in his will has left a monument more enduring than marble, has shown his confidence in the Norwegian Storting by entrusting to it the awarding of the prize for the best work in the service of the peace cause, and through the establishment of a Nobel Institute to further promote the cause by speech and writing in the future. Honor and gratitude be to him and to his memory, which shall never perish from among us.

Your union has been in existence since 1889. In the year 1890 the Storting voted an address to his Majesty the King, in which it was proposed that treaties should be negotiated with foreign Powers providing that disputes which might arise between Norway and these Powers should be settled by arbitration. The address was presented. It led, however, to no immediate result, and in the years immediately following, our political relations were unfavorable to taking the matter up again. But in the year 1897 the Storting—and this time unanimously—voted an address of like contents, in which attention was called to the fact that in the interval the idea of arbitration had taken still deeper root in the consciousness of the peoples and of their directing statesmen, and that during this time controversies between great and powerful nations had been settled by arbitration. This address the Peace Conference at The Hague had before it—the only one of its kind—as an aid in the discussion of the question of arbitration.

Norway has no ambitions in the way of expansion. It desires no adventurers and no intermeddling in the affairs of other states. Its task is the untrammelled development of the means of its own internal welfare, the condition of which is a free and friendly intercourse with other lands and at the same time the preservation of its independence.

Indeed, the geographical position of Norway and Sweden seems to predestine them to play the rôle of neutrality in the future. This position makes their duty easier and puts them in a condition to maintain their neutrality. It must, one would think, be of interest to the Powers that they should, under all circumstances, declare their purpose to maintain this neutrality inviolate, and that the Powers on their part should recognize this as a right. The more states and the larger territorial areas are in this way neutralized, the more security will there be against conflicts of the other Powers. The settled program of subjects which you have undertaken to discuss is a pledge that we are in full sympathy in this matter.

Through the Conference at The Hague, which has just closed, the cause of peace and arbitration has entered

upon a new phase, since it has now been taken in hand by the governments and the diplomatists. This is in part, at any rate, a fruit of your labor, and has contributed something toward clearing up the question as to the way by which the great common goal can be best and most securely reached. As to this, however, it would be premature to draw any conclusions, and this is neither the time nor the place to do so.

Your aim is a higher one. Your task is a more thorough and comprehensive one and demands continued labor. It has already made progress and must continue to progress, often under misunderstanding and neglect. You have already experienced these, and such will be your lot in the future. But this is the strongest reason why you should not give up your work. To fear and to doubt would be to despair of humanity.

While, therefore, with gratitude for what you have accomplished, I declare your Conference opened, I may add, with confidence, the wish and the hope that your future labors may be crowned with success. Beyond all doubt, public opinion in Europe is in favor of peace. It is so in our country. The benediction of those who are already won to your cause be with you, and may you be victorious.

The Interparliamentary Peace Conference.

Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, who has just represented the United States Congress in the Interparliamentary Peace Conference at Christiania, Norway, writes a most interesting account of the Conference in the *Independent* for September 7. We quote the following portions of his letter:

This Conference has proved to be one of the most interesting and valuable in the history of the organization. Two things contributed greatly to its success. One was the enthusiastic reception given by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian people. The other, the remarkable success of the Hague Conference, which closed its deliberations just as the Union was beginning its sessions.

The Norwegian group has been one of the most earnest and active in the Union. Its Parliament took the lead in 1895, in voting 2,000 kroner for the support of the Interparliamentary Bureau. The president of the Lagthing, Mr. John Lung, and the president of the Storting, Mr. Ullman, have both been ardent supporters of the Conference. When the Union accepted the invitation to meet in Christiania in August of this year, a hospitable reception was indeed anticipated, but the most expectant delegate was hardly prepared for the enthusiastic greeting. The government voted 50,000 kroner (\$13,500) for the entertainment of the Conference, and furnished free transportation on all government railroads for some weeks before and after the meeting. A steamer brought delegates free of charge from Denmark to Christiania, and the steamship lines from Newcastle, England, and from Grangemouth, Scotland, also gave free berths to all members.

A dramatic and memorable feature of the welcome was the way in which the steamer bearing delegates from the Continent was received. A special steamer

from Christiania, containing representatives from the government, and a large party of delegates and invited guests of both sexes, sailed down the beautiful Christiania Fjord to meet the Copenhagen steamer. Half way down the fjord three Norwegian ironclads awaited the steamers. The five vessels then formed a procession and sailed up the fjord, the three ironclads escorting the two steamers bearing the apostles of peace. The vessels were gaily decked with the flags of all nations, and the band played the national airs of every country represented. Nearing Christiania, a salute was fired by the war vessels. A vast throng on the shores witnessed the procession and welcomed with enthusiastic cheers the delegates at the pier. The escort of the war ships was not only picturesque, but beautifully symbolic, suggesting that the mission of force was to minister to peace and brotherhood. No delegate who landed at Christiania could feel that Norway was a cold country, or that his mission was insignificant. The session of the Union was the great event of the year for Norway, and everywhere the people manifested an intelligent and hospitable interest.

The Conference was opened August 2 by an address of welcome from Mr. Steen, president of the Ministerial Council. The floor of the large hall of the Norwegian Parliament was occupied by the members of the Union, a throng of spectators filled the galleries, and the popular interest was so great that not half those who applied for tickets could be accommodated. The Norwegian Parliament is called the Storting; a section of the same constitutes the Lagthing, which is not a distinct second chamber, but a sort of wheel within the wheel, with powers to ratify or revise the action of the Storting. Mr. John Lund, the president of the Lagthing, presided at the opening meeting of the Conference, being relieved at different times by Mr. Ullman, president of the Storting, and Mr. Horst, president of the Odelsting.

In his opening address, Mr. Lund congratulated the Conference on the progress which had been made in the development of an international public sentiment in regard to arbitration. When the Conference met for the first time ten years ago, only seven countries were represented; at the Christiania meeting, eighteen. "At the first conference," he said, "none of us certainly imagined that before a decade had elapsed our cause would have gained such ground as it has done throughout the whole world."

As has already been said, the Conference has from the beginning made international arbitration the main feature of its effort. Its great opportunity this year was not in working out in detail a fresh scheme for an international court, but in ratifying the general features of the plan just formulated at The Hague, which embodies the principle for which the Interparliamentary Union has so long contended. The Conference lost no time, therefore, after receiving the official text of the action at The Hague, in extending its felicitations to the Emperor of Russia and to the sovereigns and governments represented at that Conference upon the important success which has been achieved. One paragraph of the resolution read: "The Interparliamentary Conference is happy to find that the principle of the plan adopted by it at its session in 1895 at Brussels for the establishment of an international tribunal of arbitration has been

accepted." While admitting that the work at The Hague was not perfect or final, the Conference saw in it an event of the greatest historic importance, and expressed the confidence that the first and most difficult step having been taken, the favorable attitude of the different governments and the force of public opinion will insure the ultimate development of the institutions inaugurated.

The Conference urged all of its groups to employ their influence to obtain the adhesion of their governments to the pacific and humane resolutions of the Hague Conference, to encourage their governments to conclude treaties of arbitration with as many states as possible, and to facilitate the accession of countries not represented at The Hague.

The Conference has also charged the council of the organization to prepare a more detailed report upon the various features of the Hague Convention to be presented to the next conference, which will be held next year in Paris.

A resolution was also passed, expressing the hope that other diplomatic conferences, such as that just held at The Hague, by the invitation of His Majesty Nicholas II., should be convened for the more complete application of the principles of arbitration and for the gradual constitution of a code of international law. The Conference has also taken a step in the same direction. It has invited its council to prepare and submit to the deliberations of the next and succeeding conferences a draft of a code of international law fixing the rights and duties of nations.

The final resolution of the Conference was one which was gratifying to the American delegates, because it reaffirmed a principle for which the United States has long stood and which the President in his last message reasserted,—namely, the exemption from capture of private property at sea in time of war. The resolution, which I had the honor to offer, and which was adopted without any opposition, declared that the "Conference notes with pleasure that the President of the United States in his last annual message has called attention to the humane and beneficent principle of the exemption of private property at sea in time of war, and asked authority of Congress to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime Powers with the view of incorporating this principle into the permanent law of nations. The Conference favors the enactment of similar treaties to that concluded between Italy and the United States in 1871, in which this principle is strongly asserted, and trusts that such treaties may be the prelude to a general agreement on the subject through a special international conference as urged by the Interparliamentary Conference in 1892 at Berne, and in 1894 at The Hague."

Thus the ground covered by the Conference in the four days of its deliberations was not large, but it was wise to concentrate rather than to dissipate its force. The value of the meeting lies not in assertion of new principles, but in the reaffirmation of old ones, and in the development of a stronger public sentiment in favor of conclusions to which the Hague Conference has given a new significance.

The hospitality extended to the Conference was simply regal. It seemed as if every possible need of the dele-

gates had been anticipated and supplied. The local secretaries and committees were of unusual efficiency. An open air reception and concert was given at the park of St. Hans Hangen; the next evening the delegates were received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Steen; a dinner was given by the Municipal Council of Christiania on the Frognersateren, a beautiful mountain resort overlooking the city. The Conference concluded with a grand banquet given by the Norwegian group in the Masonic Hall, the principal feature of which was an admirable address in French by Björnstjerne Björnson, who is not only the beloved poet and novelist, but the leading orator of Norway.

Nearly three hundred members attended the gathering, of which nearly fifty came from Germany. Many of them availed themselves of the generosity of the Norwegian government in arranging excursions and in furnishing transportation to some of the most beautiful portions of that delightful country.

Does the Government Propose to License Gambling to Raise War Money?

J. W. Leeds of Philadelphia has published in the West Chester (Pa.) *Local News* the following statement as to an effort made by him to secure from the government an authoritative declaration of its intentions as to raising war revenue by taxing illegal gambling slot machines:

There was several days ago printed in the Public Ledger, and probably in the daily press throughout the country, the details of a scheme, seemingly emanating from the internal revenue central office at Washington, which, in enumerating a number of articles that might be taxed for war expenses, included slot machines "in which is any element of chance." Inasmuch as this method for the replenishing of overdrawn exchequers is strongly suggestive of the ways of some of the monarchical countries of Europe, there seemed to the writer a propriety in early seeking an authoritative statement of the government's intention in this direction. The following communication was accordingly addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury:

"In the schedule which has just been given out as tentatively embodying the views of internal revenue officials concerning articles of manufacture, which, in anticipation of the largely increased expenses of the government, might be made the subjects of taxation, it is stated that 'it is also proposed to place a stamp tax on all slot machines in which there is any element of chance. It has been found that the manufacture of these machines has attained gigantic proportions. In each of them the percentage of profit to the proprietor is enormous, and the tax would not be oppressive. Of course this would not strike those machines which dispense chewing gum, for in them there is no element of chance, and the gum already pays a government tax.'

"I very much hope that the government will attach no sort of tax (virtually license) to any contrivance in which is the element of a lottery. With a great deal of effort the national anti-lottery law was brought to pass,

and the moral effect of the enactment has been a distinct gain to the country. We ought to take no backward step, such as the suggested measure, it seems to me, would, if adopted, certainly be. Every municipality has had its own trouble with the slot machine lottery device, and were it now protected by a government tax, the efforts to suppress the evil would be nullified. I would be glad to receive assurance that such a measure for securing revenue is not seriously considered."

The above letter was followed the same day by a supplemental note, referring to the incident, singularly germane to the subject, reported in the daily papers of even date, to wit the raid of Deputy Sheriff Sell and a force of fifty officers upon the saloons of Gloucester City, for the purpose of taking possession of their illegal slot machines, nearly two hundred, it was reported, being secured in seventy of the city's seventy-eight saloons.

The response to the foregoing communications, not altogether reassuring in its tone, comes from the acting commissioner of internal revenue, Robert Williams, Jr., to whom the correspondence had been referred by Secretary Gage. He says, under date 2d inst.:

"Your letter, dated 28th ultimo, and supplemental letter of same date, addressed to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, relating to the taxation on vending machines, have been referred to this office. The office notes the objection you make to these machines being recognized as proper subjects of federal taxation, as a number of the machines have connected with them lottery devices and appliances in contravention of the laws of the United States.

"In reply, the proper function of this office is to administer the law and leave to Congress questions concerning taxation, and it is respectfully suggested that such questions as presented in your letters should be addressed to your representative in Congress, and, while the office never hesitates to give a full and definite reply to all inquiries concerning matters properly before it, it will not volunteer any opinion in matters not connected with its proper duties. Your letters have been placed on file."

The case is therefore sufficiently stated. The internal revenue office, in casting about for ways and means to defray the cost of crushing the "insurgent" Filipinos, rejects all protest or counsel from any interested citizen who may be disposed to question the rightfulness of so compounding with evil as to take tribute money from the owners of "lottery devices and appliances in contravention of the laws of the United States." The same office must be allowed to lay its corrupting plan undisturbed, and then when matured all remonstrances may be happily addressed to our representative in Congress! This letter may be therefore taken as in part addressed to Representative Butler and to his intelligent constituents. If any of these, sympathizing with the Burgess of West Chester in his concern for the continuance of the free public library as a fountain of useful instruction in the community, feel forward to recommend, as a means of getting the money, that he favor the imposition of a tax on all illegal slot machines discoverable within the borough, the way is open to declare themselves. The government's scheme and the supposititious one for the borough would be at one in the line of the direct promotion of gambling.